2:Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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293 24 The Balinese also believe that human beings were sacrificed
386 in Tenganan to make dyes for their famous ceremonial scarfs, the
[782] *kamben gringsing*,[4] a cloth that, because it is supposed to be dyed
[826] with human blood, has the power to insulate the wearer against
[751] evil vibrations and is prescribed at all important Balinese rituals. These scarfs, in which the warp is left uncut, are much in demand by the Balinese. The *kamben gringsing* is a loosely woven, narrow scarf of thick cotton with intricate designs in rich tones of rust-red, beige, and black against a yellowish background. The

[532]
[286]

Human Motifs woven on the *Kamben Gringsing*

process of dying and weaving is unbelievably long and complicated, and over five years are required from the time the cotton is prepared to the finished scarf, according to Korn. The threads are left in each of the dyes for months, macerated in kemiri oil for months to fix each colour, and then dried in the sun for months after each stage. The design is obtained by the double "ikat" process (*ikat*, "to tie"): that is, the threads of both the warp and weft are patterned previous to the weaving. To do this warp and weft are stretched on frames, and groups of threads are tightly bound with fibres at certain points before they are dipped

[171] [4] *Kamben* means simply "cloth," "article of dress"; *gringsing* means "flaming," "mottled" like an orchid. Single *ikat*, where only the warp is "ikated," is common throughout Indonesia, and some are famous, like the large shawls from Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, and Flores, which are highly prized; but a "double *ikat*" is extremely rare; besides those from Tenganan, others known are from Gujirat in India and simple shawls made in Zurich, Switzerland (according to Ikle).

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the "temple" is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

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foreheads, but little girls learn feminine propriety by wearing a skirt many years before the boys. Priests dress all in white and one can recognize a high priest (*pedanda*, " staff-bearer ") because he goes bareheaded and carries a staff (*danda*) topped by a crystal ball (*suryakanta*, " the glitter of the sun "), symbol of his authority.

It is unfortunate that new fashions in dress are introducing a new sort of class-consciousness. Young elegants feel superior and " emancipated " from the old-style peasant class when they wear a Malay *sarong*, a tube of cloth worn snug at the back, folded in front in two overlapping pleats and held at the waist by a leather belt. With the *sarong* go a pair of leather sandals, a common shirt, too often with the tails outside, and a European-style coat. This is the costume of school-teachers, clerks, chauffeurs, and those in frequent contact with Europeans, who will, in the long run, set the fashion for the rest of the population.

All women in North Bali have worn the Malay blouse (*badju*) for over half a century, since they were ordered to wear blouses by official decree " to protect the morals of the Dutch soldiers." Women of the Southern nobility started to wear *badjus*, and the fashion is rapidly spreading all over Bali. The Balinese form of *badju* is clumsy and ill-fitting and does not suit the huskier Balinese women as it does the slim Javanese. Many women cannot afford more than one *badju* and often let it go without washing. A girl who looks elegant and noble in the simple and healthy dress of the country, appears vulgar when " dressed up " in a tight *badju* of cheap cotton, not always clean, usually worn pinned up at the breast with a rusty safety-pin.

Those accustomed to associate nudity with savagery often refer to the Balinese as " charming primitive people unconcerned with clothes," but however scant and simple their daily costume may be, they love dressing up, and for feasts they will wear as elaborate a dress as they can afford, or borrow one rather than appear poorly clothed to parade at the feast. At temple feasts, weddings, and cremations one still sees middle-aged men in the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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292 elaborate ceremonial dress of former times: the white *kamben* with a trailing end, a rich piece of brocade (*saput*) tied over the breast with a silk scarf (*umpal*) in which is stuck the ancestral

Ceremonial Costumes of Woman and Man

[293] [301] *kris*, weapon and ornament, the sheath of precious wood and ivory, the hilt of chiselled gold glittering with rubies and diamonds, crimson hibiscus over their ears. Few costumes in the world have the dignified elegance of the ceremonial costume of

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2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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use found in every home implements of labour, simple but effective tools made of bamboo, wood, and iron, walls of split bamboo, cool mats for sleeping made of finely woven pandanus leaf, light but strong baskets and pocketbooks, and clay vessels to keep water cool. The common objects of daily requirements are beautiful in their simplicity, in the handling of elemental materials such as wood, bamboo, palm-leaf, and clay. In contrast are the lavish taste, labour, and money spent on their objects of luxury: their temples and musical instruments, their jewellery and textiles worn on ceremonial occasions, their weapons, and so forth. Their love of display often goes to extremes, as in the case of the costly towers, biers, and other accessories for the cremation of their dead, which are destroyed in a few minutes after hundreds of guilders and months of labour are spent to produce them.

I have mentioned the *gringsing* cloth, the scarfs from Tenganan, which are one of the rare examples in the world of the art of "double" *ikat* – that in which both the warp and the weft of the cloth are patterned by the elaborate process of dyeing only sections of the threads before weaving by binding them with fibres, the designs of both being made to fit afterwards when the scarf is woven. The *ikat* process is characteristic of Indonesians, although today the laborious double *ikats* are made only in Tenganan in Bali. Single *ikats* in cotton – those in which only the warp is previously patterned – are still made in Nusa Penida and in Mas, but in Klungkung they make "ikated" silks of amazingly elaborate patterns.

Klungkung is also famous for its brocades (*sungket*) in red silk with woven designs in gold and silver thread. The Balinese often decorate pieces of silk by the tie-and-dye process (*plangi*); the fabric is knotted tightly in certain places and dipped in the dyes so that when the knots are loosened, a regular pattern results, leaving uncoloured patches where the dye could not penetrate. Interesting also are the striped and chequered cloths in cotton and silk made all over the island, some of which are very

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The priest has first to purify himself thoroughly by reciting cleansing *mantras* for each action of his morning toilet. He washes his hair, rinses his mouth, polishes his teeth, and rinses his mouth again; washes his face, bathes, rubs his hair with oil, combs it, and then dresses. For each move he has to recite a short *mantra*, one for each garment he wears.

Meantime on a high platform his wife has arranged his paraphernalia (*upakara*): trays with flowers (night-blooming flowers if the ceremony is to take place at night), gold or silver vessels containing grains of rice and sandalwood powder, his holy-water container (*siwamba*) with a silver sprinkler (*sesirat*) and a long-handled ladle, (*tjanting*), his prayer bell (*gantha*), an incense-burner (*pasepan*), and a bronze oil lamp (*pedamaran*). Put away in baskets at one side of where the priest will sit are the attributes of Siwa he will wear during the ceremony: the *bawa*, a bell-shaped mitre of red felt with applications of beaten gold and topped by a crystal ball, the "shimmer of the sun" (*surya-kanta*), and a number of strings of *genitri* seeds (ear-rings, bracelets, neck and breast beads) ornamented with pieces of gold set with *linggas* of crystal, phallic symbols.[8]

Once seated cross-legged among the *upakara*, the priest proceeds to purify his person; he lays a prayer cloth over his lap and with his hands on his knees he mumbles a formula and asks of Batara Siwa to descend into the water-vessel and into his body. He stretches his hands over the incense smoke, uncovers the tray in front of him, and mumbles the *mantra asta mantra*, the hand-cleansing formula, rubs the palms of his hands with a flower and sandalwood powder, "wiping out impurity," and recites a formula for each finger as it is passed over the palm of each hand, taking flowers which he holds over the incense smoke

[8] These are the attributes of the *pedanda siwa*; the *pedanda bodda's* holy water vessel is called *pamandiyanga*, and in place of flowers for praying he uses a "thunderbolt," a *badjra* of bronze identical with those used by the Tibetan lamas and the priests of the Shingon Buddhist sect of Japan. He has a sort of banner on a stand made of bronze which is turned successively to the four winds during the course of the ceremony. The *pedanda bodda* wears his hair loose and remains throughout the service with his head uncovered.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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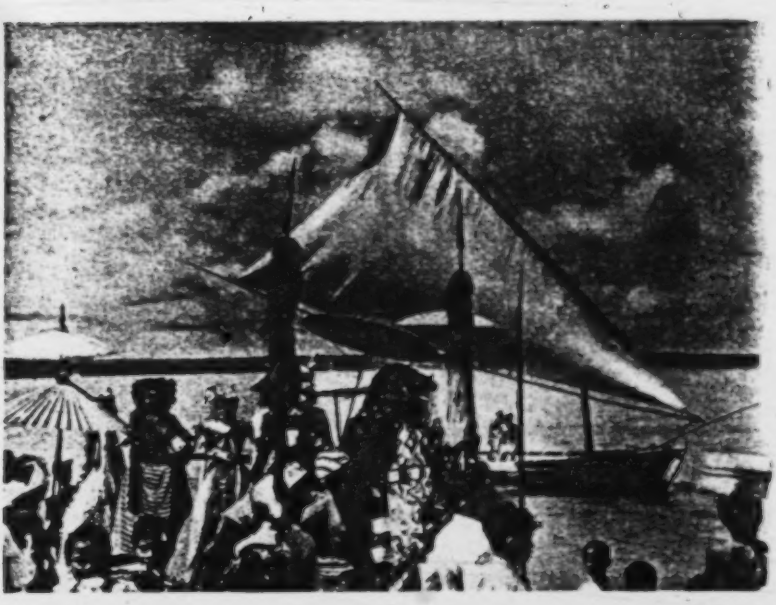

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The puppets of the barong *landong* land at the island of Sakenan to perform in the coral temple

Palm-leaf offerings shaped like boat-sails

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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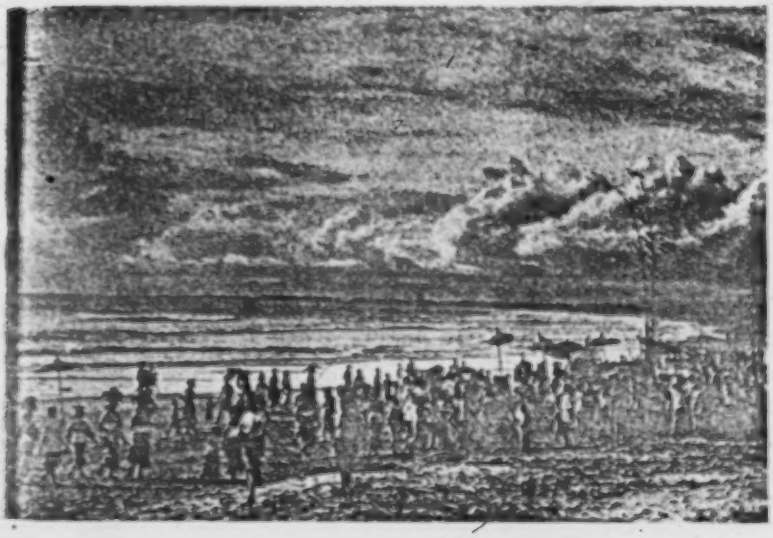

Taking the gods of Den Pasar to the sea-shore in Kuta for mlis, a symbolical cleansing bath. For this particular temple feast all the women wore white skirts to signify the purity of the occasion

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Legong dancer wearing a headdress of beaten gold and trangipani flowers

[P. 406 (~~XXXXIX~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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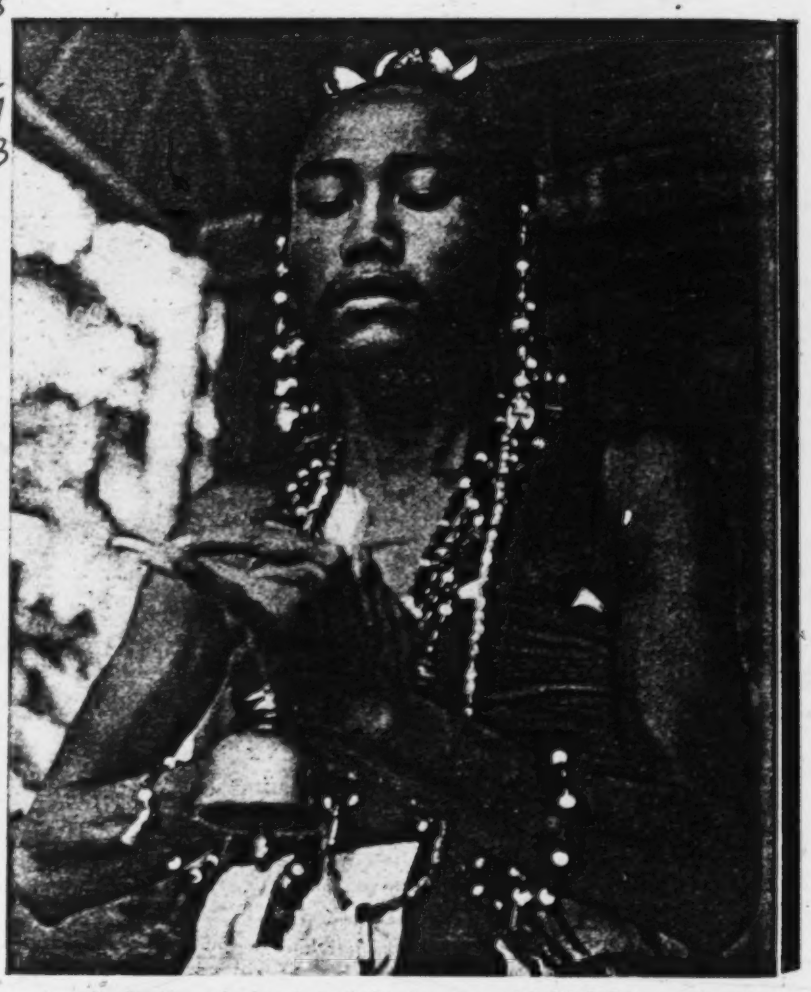

A pedanda siwa, a high priest of the siwa sect, with his bell in one hand and prayer flowers in the other, looking at the tip of his nose as a first step to induce trance

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7.

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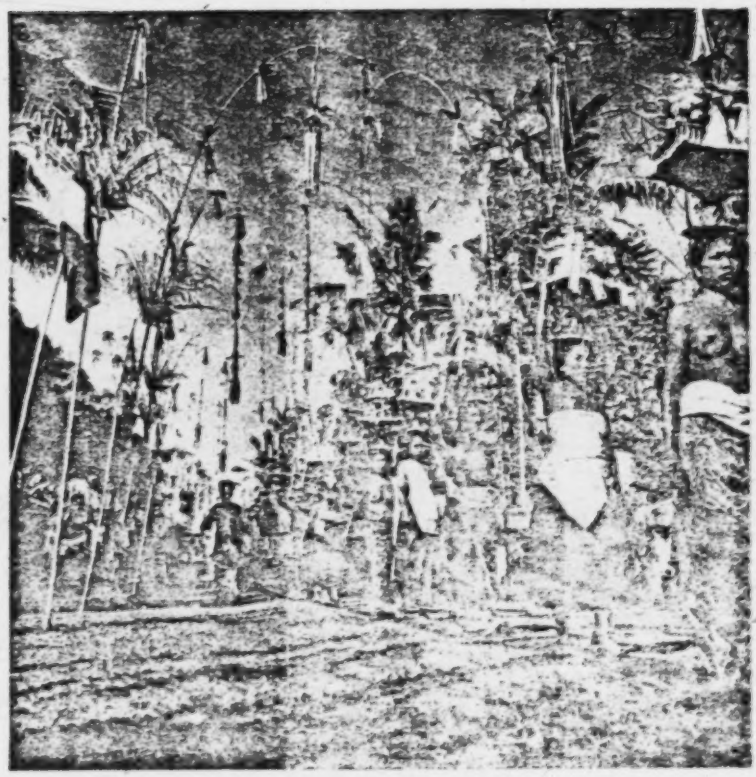

Procession, bearing offerings to the temple. The roadway is decorated with bamboo poles (*penjor*).

Frontispiece
[opp. title page]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

each to their particular bathing-place, just as it is customary for the villagers to go each day some to this spring, some to that, some to the river, according to habit and convenience. Here in the *Poerâ Nagasari* it is the custom to take the gods to a small shrine (*bedoegoel*) standing in the fields a hundred yards distant from the temple. This shrine is formed in the shape of a water spout, and the difficulty of its being quite dry is overcome by simply pouring in a jar of water at the top, and filling the vessels for holy water from the spout as the water flows through. In this way the water is symbolically "asked for" in the sacred spot.

7 : 20 p. m. The people were rather late in assembling, so that it had been dark for almost an hour when the procession set off to the bathing-place. The *koel-koel* (slit-gong) sounded to call the people to line up for the procession. The gods were taken down from the central shrine, borne on the heads of two women, the wife and the grand-daughter of the old priest. Small boys carried the ceremonial spears, and two men the parasols to "shade" the gods on their way. Other women carried the "regalia" (*bebaktan* — literally, that which is carried): the brazier, water-vessels, the bottles of palm-wine and rice-wine, the *pebersihan*, *rantasan*, and *tjanang ribong* for the gods' toilet. Still others bore the offerings, the usual *soetji* set, with *pengoelapan pengambéan*, *sesantoen*, *pendètan*, and the *lis*. In the procession, those women who knew them chanted the old ritual hymns (*mekidoeng*), as they went along. The rear of the procession was brought up by members of the *gamelan* beating upon drums, cymbals, and gongs, beating out a rhythmic accompaniment to the march, in competition with high-pitched dragging measures of the women's singing.

At the *bédji* (bathing-place), a temporary altar (*asagan*) had been set up beside the little shrine, to hold offerings. The women bearing the gods stood facing the east, and before them were set down the *bebaktan*. The priest sat facing east, facing the shrine (to Betara Gangga). He began by the prayer dedicating himself (as on page 24), placing a flower in his ear — it was necessary to do this in case "something dirty might have fallen on his head on the way," so that it would be quite sure he was sufficiently pure to minister to the gods. He followed this with the dedication of the bell, and the sprinkling of the offerings with the "ordinary water" brought from the temple. At the same time an assistant poured out water from the *tjaratan*, onto the ground.

Then the priest prayed (*sesontèng*):

Balinese Version

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara Ratoe Betara Gangga, kénak Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Betara Nagasari djagi mekokobok, sepian Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining Asep menjan madjagaoe tjenana, pingkaliñ

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

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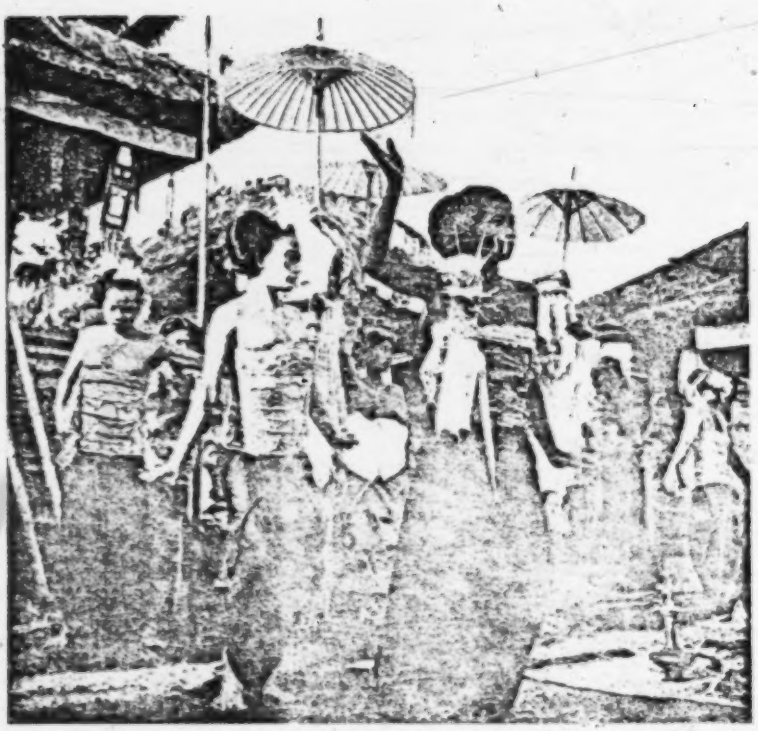

Méndàt (or *gabor*), dance with offerings. Note the *gegaloeh* puppet in the waistband.

[opp. p. 48]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE VI

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Légong, a classical dance offered as part of the celebration

[opp. p. 49]

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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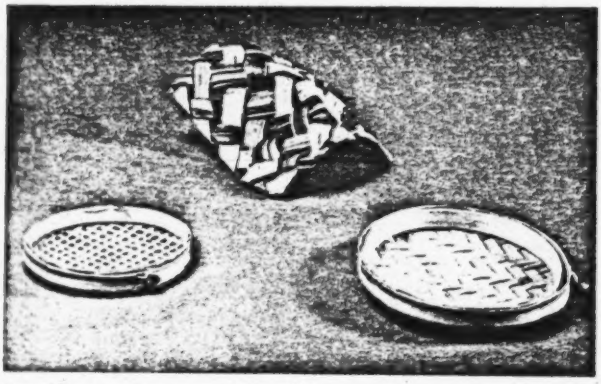

9. *sidi* 10. *tikĕh* 11. *ngyu*

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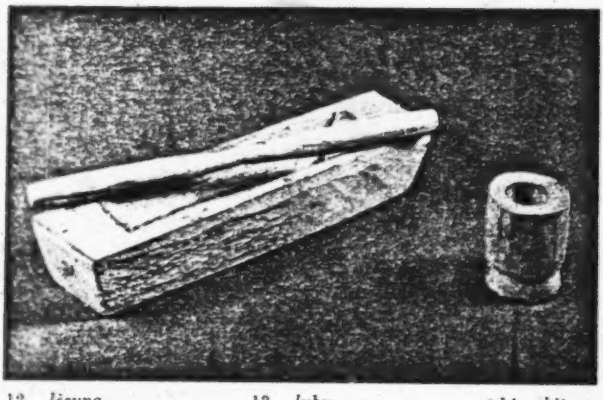

12. *lèsung* 13. *luhu* 14. *kètung*

1:Alkema & Bezemer--645 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Celebes OG1
Atjehnese OD4

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1

Br J 411 293

[573 cont.]

The characteristic of the Javanese kris, however, is the difference in color of the two metals. The Javanese kris is not polished smooth; it differs in this respect from the Balinese kris, and also in that the pamor of Bali contains more nickel, as do most of the krises manufactured outside Java.

Br S C [411 293]

Pamor is not only used in krises, but also for lance points. Pamor krises from Celebes, Sumatra, and Borneo are not only recognizable by their hilts, which have their own peculiar shapes, but also by the blade, which is not as handsomely worked as among the Javanese and does not have the curved edge.

I 789

The religious aura that surrounds the making of krises is clearly shown by the ceremonies that accompany the beginning of the forging and also by the significance attached to the different pamor designs and their protective power..

Br I 326 411

The art of forging weapons is practiced among practically all the peoples of the archipelago, but not all the products of this art are notable for [575] artistic merit. This can be said, however, of the Dajak mandau (swords) and the rèntjong (daggers). The mandau in particular are noted for the hardness of the steel. The blade is slightly curved, "so that when one holds this broadsword horizontally at eye level with the edge turned toward him, he can see clearly that the point is higher than the hilt" (1). The klèwang of Atjeh and of other peoples,

I A 411

1. Dr. G.A. Wilken, Vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië [Comparative Ethnology of the Netherlands East Indies], p. 96.

but those of the Atjehnese in particular, have a peculiarity like the mandau in that the back of the blade is quite thick, sometimes five to eight millimeters, so that a blow from this weapon is more to be feared than one from other native swords.

I 411 412

Nearly everywhere in the archipelago, chopping knives (golok) are forged in addition to the true swords. They serve as choppers or axes in daily use.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontalo 064
Bali OF7
Java OE1

3. *Other forms.*—Among the Minahasa, the tie which binds the father to his child is confirmed by him through an adat present, called "lilikur," to the mother of the child. In like manner, the bond between a foster parent and an adopted child is sometimes established by a present.

Numerous other customs are based on the idea that the transfer of some tangible goods effects a desired connection between two persons at the time of the transfer. The small present (usually in the form of food), which accompanies a petition to a person in power or authority, and which in Western eyes is too frequently looked upon as a bribe, is to be understood in this wise. The lawsuit deposit or present, which the plaintiff adds to his claim, is another instance. These presents pave the way for the establishment of the desired temporary arrangement, and lay the course down which the decision can come.

The sharecropper's payment of "srama" (see p. 120), can be linked to this institution. The acceptance of the "srama" obligates the receiver to give an answer or render a decision to the petitioner's desire to use his land, even though it be a negative one. The "srama" is not always the same as the "panjer," but it is certainly closely related to it; magically at least, it seems to be the same.

In the case of the "panjer," the visible token follows the agreement and makes it mutually binding. In the case of the present, which accompanies a petition, acceptance obligates an answer, and sometimes, if it be an invitation, it obligates consent. This may possibly be true of a "srama," too. And the giving of presents also has some compulsion in it.

A concrete token can also be used to bind yourself to decisions formulated in your absence. In Bali, a person who is detained from going to the desa meeting, can give his kris to some member of the nuclear village to take along as a proxy. So the Balinese widow employs the kris of her dead husband to represent him when adopting a child for him after his death. In Java, a prince may marry a concubine *in absentia* by having himself represented by an official to whom he gives his personal kris to be taken along for the occasion. The great lords of Mandar, in South Celebes, magically bind a girl to themselves by sending her a kris. If the girl wishes to be free again, she has to be "bought loose."

4. *Prohibitory symbols.*—The visible symbol which establishes the relation of a person to land or to a tree is of similar nature. Positively, it establishes a legal tie between the object and its maker,